1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

or disprove. Mme Chatzimichalis believes that they are a people, who, in their pastoral way of life, social organization, and art, show forth certain prototypical elements of early Greek culture.[15] She is much impressed, for instance, by the similarities between the motifs of Sarakatsan decorative art and those of the 'geometric' style of pre-classical Greece.

Professor Höeg claims that a comparison of the Sarakatsan dialect with the other dialects of continental Greece[16] suggests that it was formed some four or five centuries ago. Arrived at this point in time he observes that although the peoples which invaded the Balkans during the Middle Ages, i.e. the Slavs, Bulgars, Turks, and Tartars, were all of nomadic origin, they rapidly changed to an agricultural economy as soon as they were established in Europe. Further, it is only in quite exceptional circumstances that sedentary populations revert to nomadism. The Sarakatsan material culture, he argues, shows no trace of sedentary origins; on the contrary it follows with precision and simplicity from the conditions of transhumant life in a particular physical environment. And on the other hand Höeg is able to supply literary evidence[17] that forms of transhumance existed in classical and Hellenistic Greece; particularly in northern and north-western Greece. By a form of argument *ex ignorantia* we arrive at the conclusion that the Sarakatsani, a people without history, must always have lived in more or less the same conditions and areas as we find them today.

As is proper for a social anthropologist not concerned with the problem of origins, my own more limited conclusion is that in their social values and institutions, the Sarakatsani, as they exist today, provide no evidence of a past history that was ever anything but Greek. They still hold to what villagers now describe as 'the old customs', moral attitudes in family and community which a hundred years ago were general throughout Greek mountain communities, and still persist today, although now in conflict with other values of urban and alien origins.

[15] Ibid., vol. i, Part A, in the section 'Sarakatsani, nomads since ancient times?'

[16] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 82 ff.

[17] For instance; Sophocles, Oedipus Rex, line 1135 ff.; Arrian, Anabasis, VII.9.2.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient steading to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in defending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty-six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14 ●
Zagori
Greece EH1

the privileges of self-administration that have been described and which were not finally abrogated until 1866. So many men could not have left their families and villages unprotected, nor would there have been any security for the wealth they amassed, had the reciprocal rights and obligations of the authorities and the Zagori villages not been clearly acknowledged on both sides. In this situation an important sanction was the presence in Constantinople of a number of rich Zagori notables able to communicate the grievances of their compatriots directly to the Sultan. Not only were they able to dispense bribes to high officials on behalf of the confederation but they supplied the central Government with intelligence about the movements and intentions of the local governor in Jannina who was not infrequently intriguing against his own masters in Constantinople. Even in the case of Ali the Lion, the most powerful and greedy of Jannina's rulers, an awareness of this introduced some restraint into his dealings with the Zagori.

This concern with commerce and the professions, and the imperial ambience in which their local politics were implicated, gave the inhabitants of these villages a cosmopolitan rather than a peasant outlook. It is true that until 1912 they assiduously worked the small pockets of cultivable land and tended their vines and fruit trees, but generally with the manpower of gipsies or families of lower status. A few men of Zagori possessed large flocks of sheep but no self-respecting citizen of this district could himself lead the life of a shepherd. Consequently by the nineteenth century, if not earlier, shepherding in central, western, and much of eastern Zagori, whether of village sheep or their own, was in the hands of the Sarakatsani.

The villages in the plains of Jannina, Arta, and Preveza were in a different and less enviable situation. Originally many of their lands had been military fiefs. In terms of agricultural wealth they were richer than mountain villages but geographically they were more vulnerable to intimidation and exploitation. By the kind of process that has been described, most of these fiefs in time became private estates, chiftliks. By the early nineteenth century these areas had been considerably depopulated as a consequence of the capricious administration of chiftlik proprietors or their agents, and through looting by Albanian bands in the frequent disturbances of civil order during this period.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori.
Greece EH1

period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14 ●
Zagori
Greece EH1

plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[14] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (συζύγες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own, were also associated as wage shepherds.

[14] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though
their incumbents could almost step forth and
101 leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
114 them in March the following year, when I was
122 riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night
131 in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
221 seen them again and again, all over northern
Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
221 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on
342 high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be
442 seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
342 green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs except, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides
161 these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of
233 about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 UNLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which
101 they return after their half-yearly journeys in search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
195 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
131 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
221 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

175 nomads with the widest range of migration. The
221 sudden cage of new frontiers which sprang up
131 after the Balkan Wars failed to confine them, and they would fan out in autumn, from Epirus and Macedonia, all over southern Albania and across the lower marches of Serbia as far as Montenegro and Herzegovina and Bosnia and into Bulgaria, to the foothills of the great Balkans.

Those Sarakatsáns who thought of the Rhodope Mountains as their home were particularly bold in the extent of their winter wanderings. Not only would they expand northward, as they had in those first outposts which I saw years ago along the coasts of the Black Sea, but before the Hebrus River became the inviolable border of Turkey their autumnal caravans would reach Constantinople, and up would go their wigwams under the walls of Theodosius. Others would settle along the shores of the Sea of Marmara, looking out toward the islands of the Propontis. Yet others would spread over the rich green hills of the Dardanelles, and many would cross the Hellespont and pitch their camps on the plain of Troy. The boldest of all would continue their journey to the meadows of Bithynia, wintering there among the poplar trees, or pushing on further into Cappadocia as far as Caesaraea, scattering their flocks across the volcanic wildernesses around the empty rock monasteries of Ürgüb, or even as far as Iconium, the home of Jellalludin and the metropolis of the whirling dervishes.

175 Enormous though these journeys were, they
131 were scarcely looked upon as expatriation; for,
221 until the mass deracination of the 1920s, much of
101 Asia Minor was still part of the Greek world, and even beyond its confines, ancient Greek colonies, established for thousands of years but reduced by the later tide of invading Seldjuk Turks to scattered islets of Hellenism, still survived and prospered. There the invisible frontiers of nomadism overlapped and dovetailed into those of other pastoral wanderers, the Yourouks, autochthonous Anatolian shepherds who had grazed their flocks over the hinterland of Asia Minor for centuries before the Turks arrived there and even made return migrations, now and then, as far as Macedonia. No wonder some of the aura of a fable hangs about these men.

123 So strong is this aura for me that a quarter of an hour after catching a glimpse of this isolated Sarakatsán I was sitting at the table next to him, among the smithies and harness makers, on the outskirts of the town where old artisans settled down to quiet nargilehs after quitting work. I watched him order and drink a coffee, and

/9 cont

174 [166] 2 The various regions of Greece experienced many exoduses in the course of that epoch. One can cite several cases of entire populations taking refuge in the mountain region and establishing new villages in order to escape the oppression of invaders.

[175] 3. A pattern of life of nomadic sheep herders did exist in the country from the eleventh century on, according to the testimony of the imperial princess of Byzantium, Anne Comnène, who is regarded as one of the most famous chroniclers of her time. (43)

43. Anne Commène /sic/, edited by Bonne, I, p. 395. "... those who have chosen the nomadic life commonly call themselves Valaques." We know that the Valaques practiced sheep breeding.

4. The ethnological analysis of certain customs observed among them indicates practices of agricultural origin. This conclusion is verified by the fact that these same very ancient customs are found among the agricultural populations of the north. (44)

44. See below pp. 290-294, 302-303, 322-324, etc.

Now, would a people who were nomadic from the beginning have preserved the practiced customs of this kind?

[193] [162] /10/ 5. Finally, their collective memory still recalls "a flight into the mountain region to escape oppression, and the subsequent adoption of the life of stock-breeding nomads." To tell the truth, considering the nature of the soil of the Hellenic peninsula, herding constituted their only available means of meeting their material needs.

Obviously, if to these five arguments (the first of which was proposed by D. Géorgakas and the others by ourselves) one could add a sixth, namely, the preservation among the Sarakatsani of customs existing formerly among the populations of the north of Greece, one would reinforce this theory. Unfortunately, the intellectual heritage of the Greek middle ages, the accounts and testimonies of chroniclers, do not include descriptions of popular life to which one could refer. And the only work of [113] [114] this kind which we actually possess--a work written in the twelfth

/21 cont./
361 enumerated. However, that has been the case only since the end of
361 the first world war. Until that time, and particularly during the
175 period when the Ottoman Empire occupied the Balkans, our herders also moved into more distant countries, going as far as Yugoslavia and southern Bulgaria. At times they crossed the Dardanelles to reach the region of Pergamum and Asia Minor.

361 Since then, certain political events, the rupture between East
175 and West in particular, have impeded these movements.
198 The Sarakatsani habitat has thus shrunk remarkably. And the repercussions of this reduction are very grave, if not catastrophic, as we shall see in what follows.

Space, this friend of the nomadic herders, has now become their enemy. And now we discover a space influencing their lives in a new way.

***

361 The localities where the Sarakatsani live have undergone still
182 another transformation. We refer to the functional and utilitarian
233 organization of the space they occupy--an organization that has two distinct aspects: the accomodations and tasks intended for /22/ men and the accomodations intended for the livestock and their husbandry. We must mention the various arrangements that are relevant:

First, the dwelling huts. (13)

13. See below p. 69-95.

Second, the sheepfolds and enclosures for milking and shearing. (14)

14. See below p. 95-100.

All the arrangements and measures related to grazingland. (15)

15. See below p. 100 ff.

361 The distance between the sheepfolds and the dwelling huts varies
221 according to the season. In winter they are all close together. In
233 summer, however, they may be separated by several kilometers.

The winter camp, huts and sheepfolds, must be erected in a relatively sheltered place far from hollows which, during rains, might

S
671
128

/195 cont./

Now, in order properly to understand the phenomena relevant to the legal life of our nomads, we must examine:

--Sarakatsani law;

--Hellenic law;

--the relationships that exist between the two;

--finally, the repercussions of these relationships on the social life of the Sarakatsani.

The systematic requirements of our research demand that we begin our analysis with the laws of surrounding society (which form the sort of legal atmosphere in which Sarakatsani law was born and has developed); next, that we examine the relationships of the two systems of law and the repercussions of these relationships on /196/ Sarakatsani life. This examination will culminate in a discussion of Sarakatsani law as such to which special attention will be paid.

Thus, the traits and functions of the latter will become clear and evident.

* * * *

S
[195]

In our introduction we stated that the appearance of the Sarakatsani coincided with the end of the Byzantine Empire.

S
671
191

Inasmuch as our knowledge of the legal life of Hellenism during the Turkish occupation is now considerable, thanks to the masterful research of the Greek professor N. Pantazopoulos, (1)

G
671
195

1. See particularly: Ἀπό τήν Λογίαν Παράδοσιν εἰς τόν Ἀστ. Κάββια. — historian of law, we are in a position to follow closely the development of law among the Hellenes from the probable appearance of our nomads up to the present time.

This development had several phases which we shall review briefly.

After the fall of Constantinople (1453), Turkish law, public as well as private, replaced Byzantine law then in force among the Greeks. However, the sultan Mohammed II, anxious to conform to the rules of the Koran

S /197 cont./
671 local auto-administration of Greeks in region enjoying local privileges
171 resulted in the creation of civil tribunals whose verdicts were rendered
G according to the rules of locally established customary law as well as
671 the creation of a public law which was their own. (3)
175

3. Cf. N. ΠΑΝΤΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ : « Τινά περί τῆς ἀνωτάτης τῶν προνομίων. — Ν. ΜΟΣΧΟΒΑΚΗ : Τό Ἑλληνικόν Δημόσιον Δίκαιον. — Δ. ΤΣΟΠΟΤΟΥ : « Γῆ καί Γεωργοί τῆς Θεσσαλίας ». — G. TENEKIDES : *La notion juridique de l'indépendance.*

S A third movement must still be added: justice administered by
671 arbiters proposed and accepted by the parties concerned.
171
G As early as 1600 the Turks had begun to recognize ecclesiastical law,
671 the law of tribunals and finally the law of arbiters in the sense that the
175 Sultan sometimes forbade the Turkish magistrates to interfere in matters
692 already judged by the Greeks (clergy, popular judges, arbiters), and sometimes compelled the Turkish authorities to carry out by armed force the verdicts pronounced by the Hellenes. (4)

4. See Verat: (Decree) of the sultan Achmet A. in:
M. Gedeon: Βυζαντιναί Γράμματα Τουρκικά.

S Now the Sarakatsani of this period, considered as a Greek, was
671 immersed in this multiplicity of laws: Turkish law (public and private)
175 first of all; then Hellenic law applied by the Church (Byzantine law and canon law); customary law(public and private) coming from the privileged communities and differing according to localities; finally, the law applied by arbiters on the basis of their consciences (equity and common sense).

/198/ This situation lasted until the liberation of the country and the creation of the Hellenic State.

S At this time (1835) a decree was promulgated to the effect that the
671 official private law was no different from Byzantine law and also that the
175 rules of custom would stand as laws. As a result, the State tribunals
G had to pronounce their verdicts not only according to the rules of actual
671 law, but also according to the rules imposed by local custom, provided
175 the latter did not run counter to the rules of law strictly speaking.
[692]

S /198 cont:/

671 But at that time the liberation of Greece was only partial, the
175 Greco-Turkish frontier being in Thessaly. The introduction of this law
177 of the Hellenic State throughout the entire country was therefore
G gradual and followed the rhythm of the liberation of the different
671 regions of the north (Thessaly in 1881, Macedonia and Epirus in 1912,
175 Thrace in 1920), as was its penetration into Sarakatsani life, since the geographic center of the migrations of these nomads was in the northern provinces.

S Finally, in 1946, the Civil Code of modern Greece was put into effect.
671 This code no longer recognized the customary law which thereafter was not
177 valid in the eyes of the courts and the administration of the country.
G But to make up for it, this same code recognized the principle of Roman
671 law pacta sunt servanda. It is therefore obvious that if certain rules of customary law are explicitly included in all kinds of agreements they may be recognized by the courts as valid insofar, of course, as the clauses based on these rules do not run counter to the law strictly speaking.

Here we have a concrete picture, very complex to be sure, of what we designated at the beginning of this section as "Hellenic law issuing from the society surrounding the Sarakatsani."

S We should therefore now go on to the study of the influence which this
[128] law exerted, over time, on the social life and the law of our herders.

* * * *

S During the first period, that is to say during the Turkish occupation,
671 the Sarakatsani, sheltered and isolated in the mountains, remained
177 relatively safe, so to speak, from the legal complex of the period.
[175]

/199/ Turkish public law could but rarely affect it, chiefly because of the inefficiency of the Turkish administration which had nothing in common with the organization of modern states.

Moreover, resorting to the law of the conqueror in questions of a private nature is almost unthinkable for the Sarakatsani. His unsubju-
S gated and resistance-like behavior rules out such an eventuality. Besides,
[688]

S 121 178 182 /402 cont./ solution and a possibly disastrous one. Finally, chiefly because all these solutions, as we have already shown, have been applied in terms of the objective conditions of Sarakatsani life. And since these conditions have remained the same throughout time, the solutions too have spanned centuries and their equilibrium has remained unaltered.

S 121 178 Finally, using Gurvitch's terminology the centripetal forces always prevail over the centrifugal forces. The mechanism of neutralization or threats that we have just analyzed is so strong that no change emanating either from grouped or one-dimensional elements is possible from "within."

S [177] If in our day we see a change happening, it is from the exterior that it arises, from the modification that factors alien to the Sarakatsani world inflict on certain elements "within"--very important points of support of the mechanism in question.

S 121 177 178 It would be very important from various points of view to define the process of change, the causes that have provoked it, the different levels on which it is manifested. We should do so first, in order to corroborate the assertion that the change comes from the outside; then, in order to demonstrate our statements on the decisive influence of certain aspects of Sarakatsani life upon its /403/ creation, its style and its stability; finally, in order to explain the change, we shall now bring out the events that have contributed to it.

S 175 179 121 G 175 548 922 Gradual liberation of the country.

It was completed in 1920. Surrounding society is no longer dominated by the foreigner and as a result of this fact it ceases to be hostile. It no longer threatens the independence of the Sarakatsani.

Emigration of Greeks from Asia Minor.

In 1922 the Greek army evacuated Asia Minor. The Greeks of that

/403 cont./

region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made to disappear.

The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been obliged to seek individual solutions.

The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

S 177 175 /404 cont./ cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S 177 311 G 311 S [361] b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S 177 464 562 c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S 177 871 d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.

Measures benefitting the "landless."

S 177 423 [452] [233] [241] The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures. Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages where they engage both in limited herding and farming.

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S 177 423 656 G 656 423 At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result, all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on leased sites.